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ABSTRACT

The recent, widespread trend toward rural migration can create disturbances in the organization of the host community by overloading community services and by creating conflict between oldtimers and newcomers. To obtain information about community disturbances and migration in Michigan, questionnaires were sent to a random sample of 21,792 households; 13,296 of these (68%) resulted in usable responses. The questionnaires included 55 items which respondents rated as not a problem or as a slight, moderate, or serious problem in their community. Ordinary least squares regression techniques were used to examine the relationship between migration and specific indicators of community disturbance. Findings supported the hypothesis that immigration has caused structural disturbances in Michigan's small towns and rural communities. Migration was strongly associated with perceived problems concerning education, social welfare programs, crime and public safety, and municipal services. Unexpectedly, the employment outlook was more favorable in high growth than in low growth areas. Rural planners and community leaders should be aware of the potential problems of the migration turnaround in order to benefit from the many positive aspects of community growth. (JH)

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STRUCTURAL DISTURBANCES IN RURAL COMMUNITIES: SOME REPERCUSSIONS OF THE MIGRATION TURNAROUND IN MICHIGAN*

by

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STRUCTURAL DISTURBANCES IN RURAL COMMUNITIES: SOME REPERCUSSIONS OF THE MIGRATION TURNAROUND IN MICHIGAN

Rural demographers in the U.S. and in Europe have observed the early stages of a new migratory trend that may blossom into a very significant redistribution of the population. In recent years the balance of net migration appears to have shifted toward the nonmetropolitan sector and the small towns and communities of rural America are now growing in population.[1] Some of this new growth may be a reflection of a higher rate of rural retention; some is undoubtedly a genuine relocation of families from cities and suburbs into the countryside. Although a significant body of research has been generated to describe and monitor this movement and to probe at its initiating causes, relatively few studies have attempted to deal with its consequences. Certainly any empirical assessment of the impact of the migration turnaround, positive as well as negative, will be vital from the standpoint of policy makers and rural planners.

Past migration theory and research, focussing largely on problems connected with rural-to-urban migration, has shown that large-scale inmigration often leads to structural disturbances in the stability of the communities in which it occurs (Feagin, 1974). These disturbances may result from the rapid growth and accompanying over-demand for jobs and the provision of goods and services brought on by a high rate of inmigration, and also because the compositional characteristics of the inmigrants often do not match those of the receiving population, presenting a situation of incongruent needs, wants and normative expectations.

Like other states in the Upper Great Lakes Region, Michigan has experienced rapid growth in many of its nonmetropolitan counties (up to 47% from 1970 to 1975) and a concomitant decline in its rate of metropolitan population growth. Although the effects of this growth are still unclear, it seems a reasonable postulate, given the magnitude of the net population gain due to migration in many rural Michigan counties, and given that the bulk of these rural inmigrants come from urban backgrounds, that perhaps the seeds have been sown for the development of structural "strains," and personal antagonisms in the communities on the receiving end. Specifically then, the research reported in the paper seeks to determine whether, and in what ways, the recent migration turnaround has given rise to structural disturbances in the small towns and rural communities of Michigan.

THE MIGRATION TURNAROUND

The dispersion of the metropolitan population into the rural hinterland in many, if not all, major industrialized nations (Vining and Kontuly, 1977) may be the most significant demographic event of the "post-industrial" era. As fertility levels decline and natural increase stabilizes, migration becomes an increasingly important determinant of community and regional population change. The balance of migration flows between the urban core and the rural periphery has reversed in favor of the outward movement, and it is possible that this centrifugal pattern of population distribution will necessitate a structural readjustment in rural and small town communities, many of which have endured a long history of population decline.

Whether or not the migration turnaround represents a more fundamental change in the basic fabric of society is a question that remains unanswered. Wardwell (1977) and Schwarzweller (1979) give a word of caution on the interpretation of the turnaround as a form of metamorphosis in society's social

and normative structure, suggesting that perhaps the accumulation of past patterns and trends may only give the appearance of change. Nevertheless, the relationship between urban and rural sectors has been transformed in recent years, the outgrowth of which is reflected in the current pattern of population redistribution. This change is often couched in terms of urban and rural convergence or evolution toward a "national urban system" in which processes of urbanization continue to follow past trends in an organizational sense, but no longer require the spatial concentration of population and activities (Hawley, 1971; Berry, 1973; National Research Council, 1974). Rural communities caught-up in this transition are vulnerable to structural strains and must begin putting their adaptive capacities into action in adjusting to the changes which have attracted vast numbers of migrants from the city in the first place, and to the changes brought, in turn, with the arrival of these migrants.

In the United States, the migration turnaround represents a complex of demographic, economic and sociocultural patterns. Population change in nonmetropolitan areas since 1950 shows a pervasive tendency towards diminishing outmigration and increasing inmigration across almost all subregions of the country, yet in many of these areas the balance of migration streams did not tip to the advantage of the nonmetropolitan population until the late 1960's (Beale and Fuguitt, 1975). In some respects the turnaround is a continuation of past trends: urban masses continue to spill over into surrounding territories as indicated by the high growth rates in counties adjacent to metropolitan areas. Suburbs creep deeper into the rural landscape expanding the scope of urban hegemony. Push factors continue to push and pull factors continue to pull residents out of the cities; only now, the push-pull thrust is sending migrants much greater distances than previously anticipated.

The revival of population growth in remote rural areas, those villages and towns beyond the urban field of influence and commuting range, indicates a clean break from past trends. Nonmetropolitan counties that are not adjacent to metropolitan areas experienced post-1970 growth at a higher rate than did the metropolitan counties. Expansion of transportation systems and advances in communication (e.g., cable television) permit many rural communities to be "less isolated" than before. (Isolation becomes more a matter of preference than of circumstance.) The current influx of migrants to remote areas was not anticipated by rural demographers and regional scientists.

The character of rural revival varies according to an area's accessibility to economic and/or amenity resources. Beale (1975) identifies certain ecological correlates to nonmetropolitan population growth. Briefly, rural areas experiencing recent growth are associated with the location of established manufacturing industries, state and federal government institutions, major state universities, and fossil fuel energy extraction. Areas rich in natural amenities, sites particularly attractive to retirees and vacationers, have also sustained a trend of net inmigration. These patterns depict some of the economic realities behind the recent demographic upheaval on the rural scene.

Economic circumstances in rural America have undergone considerable change over the last two decades. Transformation of the economic organization of the rural sector is summarized by three general trends: increasing efficiency in agriculture, decentralization of manufacturing, and national expansion of the service sector. By decreasing the need for manpower, high productivity in agriculture has reduced the farm population to its current level at less than four percent of the national population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1978). For the most part, newcomers to rural areas are not entering agriculture --

homesteaders and "back-to-landers" comprise a very small portion of the new migrants. Agriculture no longer provides the economic foundation for rural life in many parts of the county.

The decentralization of manufacturing has contributed significantly to the turnaround by reinforcing the economic base in many rural locales. The growth of manufacturing industries in rural areas has filtered down through a hierarchy of cities and places. New industries are born and nurtured in large metropolitan areas, where innovations are welcomed and labor is highly skilled. As production processes become more efficient and routinized, firms seek out new environments of comparative fiscal advantage and of less skilled, unhostile (less organized) labor pools (Thompson, 1967). Recent evidence shows, however, that nonmetropolitan areas are receiving a favorable mix of both high-growth and slow-growth industries indicating that rural settings are also suitable for "newer," innovative industries (Petrulis, 1979). Concomitantly, branch plant location appears to have little connection with innovativeness; new firms are more likely to seek less urbanized settings and prefer small town environments (Erickson, 1976). The presence of a manufacturing firm in a formerly depressed or stagnant area encourages the retention of local labor, attracts new workers, and stimulates the development of other industries.[2]

Concurrent with the decentralization of manufacturing has been the nationwide expansion of the service sector. Bell's concept of "post-industrial society deals primarily with changes in the social structure, the way in which the economy is being transformed and the occupational system reworked..." (1973: 13). The spatial impact of this transformation coincides with the general distribution of the population. The penetration of the rural sector by manufacturing industries establishes an economic base capable of retaining

and attracting a larger workforce, which in turn creates the demand for additional professional and personal services. Moreover, the increased demand for leisure activities (indicated by trends toward early retirement, a shorter work week, and longer vacation time) stimulates the development of recreational industries in rural wilderness and shoreline settings. Nonmetropolitan growth in the service industries and the resettlement of the urban population in the countryside have indeed occurred contemporaneously.

It is the selective nature of the migration process that determines its effect on the communities that migrants leave and on the ones to which they go. Zuiches and Brown (1978) analyze the central tendencies for selective characteristics of migrants entering and leaving nonmetropolitan areas and of the resident nonmetropolitan population from 1970 to 1975. The metropolitan to nonmetropolitan stream is generally younger, more educated and higher in occupational status than the receiving population. These differences are partially accounted for by those leaving nonmetroplitan areas: outmigrants are even younger and have attained higher socioeconomic status than inmigrants. Demonstrating that retirement migration contributes significantly to the turnaround in many parts of the country, national averages show that over seven percent of the newcomers are sixty-five years of age or older, whereas less than four percent of the outmigrants from nonmetropolitan areas are in this upper age category. The selectivity of these migration processes appears to be leading towards a demographic convergence of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan sectors.

A dominant feature of the new rural migration is its quality of life orientation. Like the early suburbanites, the new migrants seek environments in which to live more simple life styles, free from urban problems and rich in natural amenities. For some, the benefits of living in the rural setting outweigh the economic costs of leaving the city. While economic opportunities

are expanding in rural areas, many urbanites making the outward move must settle for a loss of income. Evidence from a current study of the turnaround in Maine shows that incomes for heads of newcomer households were less or the same than before the move in four out of five cases (Ploch, 1978). Others are able to combine the "best of both worlds" by taking up residence in a rural setting within commuting range to the city (Graber, 1974), and as surveys show, the residential preferences of urbanites favor a rural habitat, just so long as ties to the metropolis are not severed (Fuguitt and Zuiches, 1975). It can be inferred that attitudinal patterns such as these reflect the prevailing normative "pressure" and might, therefore, reinforce the migration turnaround (Schwarzweller, 1979). In general, rural to urban migration is viewed as a move for pecuniary improvement; whereas, the urban to rural movement is motivated by desires to improve the quality of one's life.

MIGRATION AND COMMUNITY DISTURBANCES

All populations evolve. The life process replaces the aged with the young and inevitably those who move in fill in for those who move away. Communities evolve in this way, yet like many other populations the size and composition of a community's population rarely stablize. That is, those who enter a community do not often match up with those who leave it, either in the occupational skills they possess, in the sociocultural orientations they bear, or even in aggregate number.

Although the balance of births and deaths can and does make an important contribution to community evolution, the emphasis of the present discussion involves the transformations communities undergo vis-à-vis their differential flows of in- and outmigration. Sometimes these changes occur painlessly as migrants gradually assimilate into the host community; and frequently they

are the importers of needed skills and offer leadership and vitality to the communities that attract them. There are other times, however, when the integration of newcomers into the community structure does not come easily and is disruptive to both the migrants and to the native communities. There are two sets of circumstances under which the migration process can cause disturbances in the organization of the host community. First, a community's institutional infrastructure can be strained as a consequence of rapid population growth. Problems of "institutional overload" may arise as the influx of new residents cramps the local employment picture and places demands in excess of the carrying capacity of many community services. Second, the selective sociocultural differences between oldtimers and newcomers can lead to a conflict situation, or "culture clash," in the values and normative expectations of the two groups. Indeed, Schwarzweller (1974: 14) surmises that, "... the heavy outmigration of people from rural communities over the years, although without a doubt posing a severe economic drain on those communities, was probably not as disruptive of the prevailing social organization as the arrival of large numbers of newcomers is bound to be."

Institutional Overload

The impact of inmigration on the local job market and on the provision of community services brings the question of selectivity to the fore, that is, "who are the migrants?" Certainly the younger, more highly trained migrants are more likely to intensify competition for jobs than are the unskilled or those who are either too old or too young to work. On the same token, however, migration from among the ranks of children, the retired, and unskilled workers will place the relatively heavier burden on educational, health, unemployment and other social services and programs. Since empirical documentation of this institutional overload more often than not involves the arrival of rural migrants

in the urban community, it is somewhat difficult to generalize to the urbanite in the rural setting, as the two movements are selective of different segments of the population.

In their study of migrants to nonmetropolitan Pennsylvania, Dejong and Humphrey (1976) observe that the selectivity of younger and higher socioeconomic status families may aggrevate the struggle for employment in local work institutions. Findings reported by Kirschenbaum (1971) on a national sample of white employed family heads are consistent with this hypothesis, showing evidence that those who migrate are also those with the ability to compete effectively with the rural population for jobs, viz., the young and the more highly educated. But the picture is not one-sided, for as Ploch (1978) argues, newcomers to rural communities in Maine can provide professionally and managerially oriented skills and services that are quite often in short supply in these communities. In other words, they help fill an important void in the occupational structure rather than compete for a place in the structure that might otherwise be occupied by longer-term residents.

Another dimension to the employment issue is the observation that as jobs become available in nonmetropolitan communities, they are often snatched up by return migrants who frequently possess highly marketable skills acquired in the city (Morrison, 1972). And it has been demonstrated recently that a very significant element of the migration turnaround has indeed been the return of former residents. Ploch (1979), for example, estimates the proportion to be nearly 40% in the state of Maine.

Regional planning guidelines in Great Britain have encouraged the decentralization of industry and of the population in some of the more congested parts of the country, notably in the southeastern counties. As a consequence, many of the smaller communities in these parts have begun to expand in size and

recent reports indicate that problems of institutional overload are now on the rise. Martin (1976: 70), for example, has observed that in some instances there has been "a considerable time lag between the arrival of new residents and the expansion of social facilities to cater to their needs." Other such problems related to rapid community growth beyond existing institutional capacities are: a distortion of the local housing market, traffic congestion, problems of litter, trespass and so on (Dunn, 1976).

There is also some evidence in the U.S. that community facilities, such as public libraries, are beginning to feel the strains of a growing rural population and will soon need to expand and improve in order to meet the new demand (Jackson, 1974; Ploch, 1978). Yet upgrading the institutional infrastructure can be costly. Improvements in public safety, fire protection, streets and roads, public transportation, cultural amenities, and health and educational facilities must all rely on local revenues, setting the stage for potential fiscal strains and political conflicts.

Culture Clash

A recurrent theme in community studies revolves around the postulate that many of the symptoms of community disintegration and disorganization are attributable to the inmigration of families whose sociocultural orientations differ from those of the host community. Generalizations to this effect have emerged in connection with urban community problems such as a high crime rate and a loss of community solidarity, and usually includes the inmigration of former rural residents or of various ethnic groups. Coleman (1971), for example, reports that the disorganizing tendencies of migration arise, at least in part from the migrants'

> different backgrounds, cultural values and norms; and
>
> differences due to time of movement into the community

(classical examples of migrations inducing conflict are Irish Catholics moving into East Coast cities and New England towns in the nineteenth century; "Okies" moving into Southern California during the 1930's; ex-city dwellers moving into established suburbs in the 1950's, often with a different age and income distribution from that of the existing population; and rural southerners, mostly black, moving into the center of cities in the 1950's and 1960's).

In reviewing the research literature on this theme, however, Feagin (1974) comments that not all of the evidence is supportive . Based on findings from community research in North American and Latin American cities, Feagin concludes that the assumed disruptive effects of migrations are still in need of further examination.

But there is nothing particular about the problems associated with a clash of cultures and the assimilation of migrants that they should occur exclusively in the urban environment. Indeed, there is a small but growing body of research that has explored the impact of urbanites moving into rural communities. Several studies have dealt with the spread of cities into the countryside and into the small towns and villages within the commuting range of large metropolitan centers, some have looked at the development of "boom towns" in rural areas, and still other studies have directed their attention to the rural communities at the receiving end of the more recent migration turnaround.

The history of metropolitan growth has seen a gradual dispersal of the city's population first into the suburbs and then into the more distant, yet accessible communities in the rural hinterland. As more and more urbanites in their distain for city life have been attracted to the surrounding countryside,

their collective voice on many political and social concerns has become increasingly audible to the longer-term rural residents. Imparting modern values and normative expectations, coupled with sophisticated tastes in the arts and dress and a preference for 'contemporary' living, these newcomers are unit carriers of the urban culture, aspects of which are sometimes found to be irreconcilable with the local sociocultural system.

In a study of the growth of several small towns within the commuting radius of New York City, Spectorsky (1955) describes the formation of a new 'social class' of wealthy and highly educated urbanites ("exurbanites") in these areas, separated from the native population not only in their workplace, but also in their daily social lives. In a similar study of a rural commuter town outside of Denver, Graber (1974) found a situation much the same as that reported by Spectorsky. Newcomers were younger and more educated than 'oldtimers' and were more in favor of cutting off any further growth in the community in order to preserve those qualities of the community that had originally attracted them there. Commuter towns in Great Britain, too, have had their share of difficulties in handling the social and economic differences between inmigrants and natives and in maintaining a sense of community solidarity (Dunn, 1974). From the perspective of a rural planner in the U.K., Martin (1974: 73) makes the following overarching generalization:

> Although there may be similarities across the country between migrant populations, the contrasts with their respective host populations are marked. The established 'villagers' often comprise more unskilled workers, have less personal mobility and lower educational standards. With the introduction of a migrant element, especially on a large scale, social and class

> divisions could be accentuated and village 'solidarity' reduced. The type of migrant attracted, will depend upon the type of house offered, and if the builders are allowed a free rein, they will naturally supply the most profitable market, usually executive houses.

In their case study of a small logging community in the state of Washington, Colfer and Colfer (1978) report some of the disturbances that have arisen there in connection with the steady inmigration of government employees and their families. In comparing the newcomers with the locals they conclude that "the two ways of life comprise two relatively distinct and separate systems, and internal components of each system clash with the components of the others (p. 208)." The orientation of the public employees emphasizes middle class values such as universalism, frugality, efficiency, and a respect for education. These values stand in contrast to the particularism and traditionally kinship oriented value system maintained by the locals, and provide the foundation for a considerable degree of social and political antagonism in the community.

Culture clash and problems of social integration have been linked to the migration turnaround in other parts of the country too. As urbanites flow into the traditionally organized communities of rural Maine, for example, in search of a superior "quality of life," Ploch (1978) has observed the emergence of conflicts between the settled residents and the more highly educated inmigrants over issues of educational policy, viz., school curricula and the provision of alternative education. In a similar episode, conflict between newcomers and oldtimers over the traditional lines of social authority, of which the school administration is an example, prompted a taxpayer revolt in six Oregon counties and a closing of schools in four of the counties' school districts (Hennigh,

1978). Several other studies investigate these kinds of community disturbances as they pertain to the migration turnaround in the state of Michigan. The conclusions of these studies in combination with the analysis and findings of the present inquiry are discussed in the following sections.

THE MIGRATION TURNAROUND IN MICHIGAN

Michigan's migration turnaround became evident during the 1960's as several nonmetropolitan counties in the Northern Lower Peninsula experienced net inmigration (Beegle, 1971). By 1975, the turnaround had spread to almost all nonmetropolitan areas of the state, as all but one county in the historically depressed Upper Peninsula gained population through migration, and at least twelve counties in the Northern Lower Peninsula sustained net inmigration rates in excess of 20% (Figure 1). One vital feature behind these high growth rates has been Michigan's bounty of forest and shorelines, a long-time haven for vacationers and retirees. Many seasonal migrants, those vacationers who either own or rent second homes to enjoy the summer months, are now "winterizing" their dwellings in order to take up permanent residence in these more scenic and rural settings. The settlement of retired persons has subsequently attracted many new services to the local communities, thereby contributing even further to their population growth and economic development (Wang and Beegle, 1978).

While the attractiveness of the environment appears to be an important factor in Michigan's turnaround, the selectivity of the migrants and the characteristics of the receiving communities vary throughout the state. Despite the character of the turnaround in any particular area, the potential for political conflict and structural disturbances is evident in many rural communities. In their case study of Hayes Township in Clare County, Gladhart

and Britten (1978) show that the natives are generally younger, have more formal education, higher incomes, and a more rural background than the migrants. The township is especially attractive to retirees as over 45% of the migrants are 65 years old or above, while only eight percent of the natives are of retirement age. On attitudes toward public policy measures designed to regulate environmental quality and population growth, natives favored education and incentive programs, while migrants were more likely to endorse the use of regulations. Community action encouraging migration to Clare County, however, was favored more by recent migrants than by the rest of the local population. Differentials in the age, education, and rural backgrounds of the newcomers and locals may account for their divergence on these issues. There appears to be a general lack of satisfaction with coummunity services and facilities on the part of both natives and migrants.

An assessment of the impact of elderly migration on the social structure of Clare County has been made by Kobernick and Beegle (1978); they note that the age structure is altered, the sex ratio shifts in favor of women, the proportion of the adult population in the labor force decreases, and the dependency ratio increases. While their presence places new demands upon the community, elderly migrants are often opposed to any economic development they feel may threaten the beauty, rurality, and other characteristics of the environment that attracted them in the first place. An attitude of "limited commitment" may best characterize the migrant's self-imposed relationship with the host community, as declining health or a potential loss of spouse may cause the elderly newcomer to consider additional moves.

To the north of Clare County, on the tip of the Lower Peninsula, Marans and Wellman (1978) conducted an exploratory study of the attitudes and behavior patterns of local residents and of the general quality of life in Emmet and

Cheboygan Counties. The influx of "seasonals" during the summer months increases the local population of this area by 50%. As many seasonals have already taken up permanent residence there and a majority would prefer to permanently move to the two county area before the end of the next decade, it may be useful to consider the seasonals as recent or potential migrants in comparing them to the permanent residents. Seasonal homeowners are financially well-off with an average income of approximately $20,000. In contrast, half of the year round residents have incomes under $6,000. Although both seasonal and permanent residents are generally satisfied with local schools, public services, medical facilities and residential quality, two thirds of these residents thought local taxes are too high for the services delivered. Similar to the situation in Clare county, the potential for political confrontation exists over strategies of community development; seasonals want to limit or halt growth in the area, while permanent residents express a desire for further economic development.

Many of the new migrants to rural Michigan communities have had some form of contact with these communities before moving. Some are return migrants, others have maintained relationship with families or friends in the area, and still others have become acquainted with various communities as vacationers and seasonal migrants. These associations may ease the migrants' assimilation into the community and lessen the potential for community strains. It is possible, however, that even these "homecomers" could have expectations for their communities that are quite different from those of the longer term residents, and that such differences if not carefully handled could kindle structural strains and political conflicts in many of these growing communities.

DATA COLLECTION AND REDUCTION

Information pertaining to community disturbances was ascertained in the fall of 1975 via questionnaires mailed to a sample of 21,792 Michigan households, randomly selected by counties. The sample size in each county ranged from 224 to 283 for a county average of 263 questionnaires. Of the original sample, 2,288 (about 10%) could not be contacted, reducing the number of potential respondents to 19,504. Of these, 14,812 households (76%) responded to the survey. The number of completed questionnaires totaled 13,296, for a usable response rate of 68%.[4]

One block of the questionnaire included a listing of 55 items reflecting areas of possible community concern and was designed to capture the respondents' perceptions of the fundamental problems (disturbances) in their communities. Items covered a wide range of problem areas such as unemployment, insufficient social services, a lack of cultural amenities, no community spirit and pride, and so on. Respondents were asked to choose one of four possible response categories:

that the item was <u>not</u> a problem,

a <u>slight</u> problem,

a <u>moderate</u> problem, or

a <u>serious</u> problem in their general communities.

In order to obtain comparability with up-to-date county level census figures on net migration rates, scores for each item were aggregated to the county level and then converted to percentages. Thus, for the 83 Michigan counties it was known just what percentages of the population perceived each item to be a slight, a moderate, or a serious problem in the communities of those counties, if they were perceived as a problem at all. By combining the county percentages for the "moderate" and "serious" response categories, the

four percentages were condensed into a single, more manageable indicator of the extent to which each item was considered to be moderately or seriously disruptive to communities in the 83 counties in the state.

Reduction of the 55 items was achieved by clustering the items into more general areas of community concern on the basis of an item content analysis and an examination of the inter-item correlation matrix. Problems in the areas of health, educational and recreational facilities, crime and public safety, programs for the aged, social welfare programs, municiple services, employment, and community solidarity were the most salient underlying structural disturbances to be extracted from among the items in the questionnaire.[3] Table 1 presents these problem areas and the respective groupings of items to which they belong. As the item on problems of rapid population change is particularly relevant to the present line of inquiry it, too, has been included in Table 2. By summing the percentages for each set of items, composite variables were then constructed to represent each of the problem areas.

The migration turnaround is expected to be positively associated with community disturbances, as described above, and is here measured as the U.S. Bureau of the Census net migration estimates for all counties in Michigan from 1970 to 1975. Urbanization, education level, income level and the age structure are some of the more important county characteristics that could bias the relationship between migration and community disturbances through their possible concomitant variation with these two variables. In order to eliminate this source of bias, county variations in these characteristics are held constant at appropriate points in the analysis. The degree of urbanization is indicated by the percentage of the population living in urban residences for each county in 1970; education level is measuring as the median years of school completed by the population twenty-five years old and over, by

county in 1970; income level is simply the median family income for each county in 1969; age is measured as the median age of the population of each county in 1970 (Verway, 1976).

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Figure 1 shows that population growth due to migration from 1970 to 1975 is predominantly a nonmetropolitan phenomenon in Michigan. Only six of the sixty-eight nonmetropolitan counties lost population through migration, and two of these have since turned around according to the 1976 Census estimates. All four of the fifteen metropolitan counties experiencing net inmigration are within the suburban sphere of the Detroit metropolitan area, and three of these show relatively low rates of net migration. In short, Figure 1 demonstrates that in recent years the overarching pattern of migration has been a steady flow of migrants from the larger cities and their surrounding urban areas into the small towns and communities of rural Michigan.

Ordinary least-squares regression techniques are used to examine the relationship between migration and community structural distrubances for all Michigan counties (Table 2). Supporting the expected pattern of association, zero order correlations show positive relationships between migration and specific indicators of community disturbances. Migration is strongly associated ($r>.40$) with perceived problems concerning municipal services, education and social welfare programs, health care, and recreational and cultural facilities. To a lesser degree, migration is also positively associated with community disturbances in the areas of crime and public safety, community solidarity, employment, and services specifically for the aged. On the issue of rapid population change, it is evident that residents are aware of such change if it is occurring in their communities, and that they do indeed consider it to be a problem.[5]

County characteristics that could bias the relationship between migration and community disturbances, viz., degree of urbanization, education level, income level, and age structure, are all held constant in the analysis. The introduction of these controls reduces the importance of migration in seven of the ten problem areas. Nevertheless, migration retains a substantial effect ($\beta \geq .25$) upon community disturbances regarding municipal services, health care, and local education systems; social welfare programs as a problem area also continues to be affected by migration ($\beta = .16$). In two other problem areas the control variables actually suppress the impact of migration. First, the effect of migration on the perception of crime and public safety as a community problem increases in magnitude when controls are applied. Likewise, the relationship between migration and the perception of rapid population change as a community problem gains additional strength as controls are taken into account.

It was originally reasoned that inmigration would intensify competition for jobs in these growing rural communities, and support for this hypothesis is found in the relatively weak albeit positive association between migration and the perception of employment problems. Yet, as the biasing effect of various county characteristics are held constant, the direction of the relationship is reversed, suggesting that migration may not be putting pressure on the local employment market after all. In fact, as Ploch (1978) notes, new migrants may actually stimulate the local employment situation by increasing the demand for goods and services and by importing new entrepreneurial skills.

Partial correlations show that migration has little or no effect upon community problems in the areas of recreational and cultural facilities, programs for the elderly, or community solidarity. Since rural Michigan has been promoting tourism for some time, it may well be that the necessary recreational infrastructures in those areas originally built up to meet seasonal demands

have been adapted to the more recent patterns of permanent settlement. In addition, the gradual and well established pattern of elderly migration in Michigan may have encouraged communities to meet the needs of their senior citizens at some time prior to the migration turnaround. It should be noted, however, that medical facilities, a primary concern of the aged, is perceived as a problem in high growth areas.

In the light of earlier research findings, it was at first somewhat of a mystery to find so little association between migration and community solidarity. Yet closer inspection reveals that while migration is expected to be disruptive to the cohesion of the receiving community, the loss of population from the origin community may also have disruptive consequences. In fact, population decline frequently bears a negative impact on the vitality of local institutions and on the general psychological atmosphere in the community (President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, 1967). Thus, the association between migration and community solidarity may actually be a curvilinear one and, therefore, concealed by the linear regression techniques employed in this analysis. In other words, communities experiencing either a loss of population through outmigration or relatively high rates of net inmigration are vulnerable to strains resulting in a lack of community cohesion.

Multiple classification analysis is used to explore this suspected curvilinear relationship between migration and community solidarity. In this analysis, the mean level of community solidarity is comprared across three categories of migration -- net outmigration, low net inmigration (less than 15%), and high net inmigration (greater than 15%). Table 3 shows that both before and after adjusting for county characteristics, deviations from the grand mean are higher in the net outmigration and high net inmigration cate-

gories than in the low net inmigration group. In other words, the perception of community solidarity as a problem is greater in communities that are either rapidly losing or rapidly gaining population than in the more stable communities. Thus, migration may indeed contribute to the decay of social solidarity in the communities of origin and of destination.

In summary, the findings of this study are generally supportive of the hypothesis that the migration turnaround has given rise to structural disturbances in Michigan's small towns and rural communities. Rapid population growth due to large-scale inmigration appears to be disruptive to the stability of rural community organization. Migrants to rural areas, it is inferred, create problems of institutional overload and culture clash. The needs, values, and expectations of newcomers differ from those of the natives, and their demands exceed the carrying capacities of community services and facilities, particularly, it seems, in the areas of education, health care, social welfare, crime and public safety, and other municipal services. The influx of migrants may disturb community solidarity too, yet unlike many other problems, a loss of solidarity can also be the consequence of population decline. As for the employment situation, the postulate that jobs would be harder to come by in high growth areas is not supported, in fact, there is evidence that the employment outlook is even more favorable in these areas than in low growth and declining areas.

Despite the disruptive effects of the migration turnaround described in this analysis, the erroneous conclusion must not be drawn that the population growth and concomitant community development now occurring in rural areas is not to be welcomed. Indeed, for the communities in many such areas, the transition will mean the termination of a long history of decline. An important implication of this research, then, is not that growing rural communities should

deliberately discourage the settlement of newcomers, but to the contrary, that there are many obvious positive aspects of the turnaround and that in order to most effectively profit from such growth and development, rural planners and community leaders must be made aware of the many potential sources of conflict and disruption in their pursuit of successful strategies for community change.

To be sure, this study only begins to clear the way for a better understanding of the consequences of the migration turnaround for rural communities and institutions. As these consequences have been explored here in terms of residents' perceptions of community problems, the next logical step for research in this direction might focus on various objective indicators of these problems.

FOOTNOTES

[1]See Harry Schwarzweller's 1978 Presidential address to the Rural Sociological Society, "Migration and the Changing Rural Scene," for a comprehensive review of the research literature on the migration turnaround.

[2]Manufacturing firms can be rather footloose in selecting locations with the "proper environment" as long as transportation costs are less than the reduction in production costs gained by the move. It will be interesting to observe the impact of rising energy costs upon manufacturing (and population). Increasing transportation costs may cause certain "diseconomics of scale" forcing manufacturers to locate closer to primary markets, back near the cities (Frankena, 1978).

[3]To provide an additional test of these underlying dimensions, the 55 items were factor analyzed using a "varimax" rotation and a minimum eigenvalue of 1.0. Eight factors emerged from among the items, and based on the pattern of highest factor loadings for each item, six of the strongest factors correspond to the item clusterings previously derived on the basis of content. The first and strongest factor to emerge combined social welfare programs, municiple services, health care and recreational facilities problems into a single broad based factor, but for the purposes of a more detailed analysis these items were grouped separately.

[4]This survey was conducted by William J. Kimball and Manfred Thullen in the Michigan State University Department of Resource Development.

[5]Inferences such as this are drawn cautiously as generalizations about individual behavior from ecological data are often highly speculative.

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Figure 1. NET MIGRATION IN MICHIGAN COUNTIES, 1970-75, AS A PERCENT OF THE 1970 POPULATION.

Table 1. QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS GROUPED BY PROBLEM AREA

Municipal services:

- Fire protection
- Trash and garbage collection and disposal
- Streets and roads

Health care facilities:

- Health care facilities and staff
- Mental health and counseling service
- Ambulance and emergency service

Social welfare programs:

- Child care opportunities
- Assistance programs for people with low incomes
- Family planning programs

Recreation and cultural facilities:

- Youth organization opportunities
- Recreation opportunities for youth
- Recreation opportunities for adults and families
- Libraries and museums
- Cultural and fine art opportunities
- Dining, movies, and other evening entertainment opportunities

Facilities and programs for the aged:

- Assistance programs for the aged
- Recreation opportunities for the aged

Education programs and facilities:

- Special education for gifted, retarded, and handicapped
- Elementary and secondary education
- Vocational and technical education
- Community college
- Adult education opportunities

Crime and public safety:

- Crime prevention and control
- Police-community relations
- Traffic and safety control

Employment situation:

- Job opportunities
- Unemployment
- Industrial development

Community solidarity:

- Citizen participation in community decisions
- Overall willingness of people to work for good of community
- Community spirit and pride

Rapid population change:

- Rapid population change (growth or decline)

Table 2. REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY DISTURBANCES BY MIGRATION, CONTROLLING FOR COUNTY CHARACTERISTICS IN MICHIGAN (N=83 COUNTIES).*

Problem Area	Zero Order Correlation (r)	Partial Correlation (B)	Multiple Correlation (R)	Variance Explained (R^2)
Municipal services	.44	.26	.69	.47
Health care facilities	.48	.25	.77	.59
Social welfare programs	.45	.16	.77	.59
Recreation and cultural facilities	.43	.08	.76	.58
Education programs and facilities	.50	.28	.69	.47
Facilities and programs for the aged	.26	.03	.57	.33
Crime and public safety	.11	.22	.36	.13
Employment situation	.14	-.16	.67	.45
Community solidarity	.06	.02	.46	.21
Rapid population change	.66	.87	.74	.55

*Ordinary least-squares regression techniques are used in estimating correlation coefficients, controlling for the percent of the population in urban residences, the median education of the adult population, the median family income, and the median age. Since the data represent all counties in the state (not a sample of them), a test of the significance of the regression coefficients would be inappropriate.

Table 3. MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS (COMPARISON OF MEANS) OF COMMUNITY SOLIDARITY AS A PROBLEM, BY CATEGORIES OF MIGRATION (N=83 COUNTIES)*

Grand Mean = 132.6

Migration	Unadjusted deviation from grand mean	Adjusted for % urban, income, education and age
Net outmigration (N=16)	4.66	5.31
Low net inmigration (N=50)	-3.83	-2.66
High net inmigration (N=17)	6.86	2.84

*A net inmigration rate of 15% is used to discern between the low and the high net inmigration categories.